

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

VOLUME II.

THE EXAMINER;
Published Weekly, on Jefferson St., next door to the Post Office.
TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.
SIX COPIES FOR TEN DOLLARS.
PAUL SEYMOUR,
PUBLISHER.

Slave Emancipation in Kentucky.

After the lapse of fifty years, the people of Kentucky are again about to assemble in convention for the purpose of revising and readjusting their constitution. With the lights they now have, and with the aid of that best, most reliable teacher—practical experience—they are about to apply the proper test to the work of their predecessors, retaining what is good, rejecting or altering what is bad. When those predecessors framed the present constitution, negro slavery was the most exciting topic, and felt by all to be by far the most important subject for consideration. Now again, that institution stands prominently forth, as of most importance, most needing revision and the most difficult property to readjust. It then needed any apology, for venturing to communicate with our fellow citizens on such a subject, it might be found in the fact, that several gentlemen of Louisville have been written to from various parts of the State, urging that some initiatory step should be taken here, towards properly presenting the subject of emancipation for the consideration and decision of the people of Kentucky. We deem it every way best, that our consultations with the friends of emancipation, should be carried on publicly and with the knowledge of the whole State. In so doing, it may not be inappropriate to premise, that we are, most of us, native born Kentuckians and slaveholders; and all of us, the one, or the other. This fact, in connection with whatever may be afforded by our private characters, is the guarantee we have to offer, that we do not mean recklessly to agitate the State with this exciting topic, and that we fully sympathize with the just odium felt against the officious and offensive intermeddling of northern fanatics. A sincere participation in this feeling, cannot be doubted, when all know, that under the malign influence of abolitionists, the cause of emancipation has materially retrograded in Kentucky within the last ten or fifteen years, and that their acts, have cast such disfavor around the whole subject, as almost to preclude an impartial, or even a patient hearing from the people of Kentucky. Surveying the condition of public sentiment, it has been the most ultra pro-slavery men of our State, who have urged forward the coming convention, selecting this as a propitious period for doing it with impunity to their favored policy, and in the hope of perpetuating it among us by opening the door, and having it always kept open, for the further importation of slaves. It is they who have prematurely forced the question upon the advocates of emancipation, and the latter have no alternative but to meet the issue as they may. The object of this address is to bring about that concert of action among the friends of emancipation which is indispensable to success, if the issue is now to be tried, or to cause its absolute waiver and postponement for the present.

The framers of our constitution may have acted right or rationally on the slave question, according to their information and belief as to its probable operation. They thought, and according to their then experience, they had reason to suppose, that keeping up negro slavery, was the most certain and expeditious mode of bringing to the State the population and labor necessary to subdue its forests and giving value to its vast body of unimproved land. Most of us, had we been acting upon their information, would probably have decided as they did. But, with the information derived from the practical experience of fifty years, all candid men must admit that their decision was erroneous, and that, if a system of gradual emancipation had been then adopted, the population and wealth of Kentucky would be at least double, if not treble what they now are. The proof of this lies in a comparison of the condition of Virginia as to population and wealth, with that of New York or Pennsylvania, and in a similar comparison between Kentucky and Ohio. In 1790, Virginia had a population of 740,000, whilst Pennsylvania had only 430,000, and New York only 340,000. In 1840, Virginia had only 1,240,000, whilst Pennsylvania had 1,720,000, and New York had 2,400,000. A comparison of their wealth, the yield of their industrial pursuits and the means of accumulating future wealth, is equally to the disadvantage of Virginia. In 1800, Kentucky had a population of 220,000. Ohio 45,000 and Indiana 4,500. In 1840, Kentucky had only 70,000, whilst Ohio had 1,520,000, and Indiana 680,000. At the late Presidential Election, Indiana cast some 40,000 votes more than Kentucky. From 1830 to 1840, Indiana doubled her population, and Ohio added fifty per cent. to hers, whilst the increase in Kentucky was only about thirteen per cent. But what still more strikingly illustrates the halting, if not deteriorating condition of Kentucky, is, that during the same period, the increase of the population of the whole Union was full thirty three per cent. Thus it is shown that for the last twenty years, Kentucky will not have retained near her own natural in-

crease, whilst Indiana will have trebled, and Ohio more than doubled her population. It is difficult to form any estimate of the immigration to Kentucky in the last thirty years, but it is believed that if the settlers in a few of the larger towns on the Ohio river be excluded from the estimate, the whole accession in that way, for that long period, does not amount to more than from five hundred to one thousand families. During those thirty years, whilst the immense stream of immigration has been pouring population, wealth, mechanic and manufacturing skill and industry into the States north of us, it seems to have avoided Kentucky as though she had been a land of pestilence and a sanitary cordon had been drawn round her borders. Her soil and geographical position are equal, and her climate superior to either of those States, and for twenty years, the average price of her land has been below that of Ohio. No cause can be plausibly urged for a state of things of such portentous omen and warning, but that obvious reason, which is at once suggested to every reflecting man. Kentucky tolerates slavery and those States do not. In 1800, 45,000 people in Ohio, started on a career of competition against 220,000 people in Kentucky for populating and enriching the most rapidly, their respective States. Ohio rejecting the institution of negro slavery, whilst it was retained and nourished by Kentucky. The result has been, in less than fifty years, that the 45,000 of Ohio have grown to a population of two millions, and the 220,000 of Kentucky have grown to the amount of only some 900,000, whilst the aggregate wealth, mechanical, manufacturing and commercial industry of the two States are in about the same proportion.

Nor is this all. If we compare the increase of population and wealth of Kentucky for the last thirty years with that of her south western sisters, the result is equally to her disadvantage. Starting in 1830 on a basis of 165,000 slaves, in 1840 they had only increased to 182,000, and from 1840 till now they have increased to only 192,000, giving as the whole increase for eighteen years, only 27,000 or some sixteen per cent, whereas the natural increase should have given near 100,000 or more than 60 per cent. Had Kentucky retained her natural increase for the last thirty years, her population in 1850 would be upwards of 1,300,000, instead of only 8,800,000.

These facts uncontestedly prove that the climate and agriculture of Kentucky are not suited to negro slavery, and whilst they prevent her from prospering as a slave State, the institution of slavery has heretofore prevented and must continue to prevent the increase of her white population, and of that wealth and industry which ever accompany an exclusively white population, and are never found as accompaniments to negro slavery. That Kentucky is in an unnatural or false position, may to some minds be more strikingly illustrated by a comparison with her near neighbor Tennessee, over whom she has the advantage in extent of territory, amount of rich lands, climate and geographical position. The climate of Tennessee being, somewhat better suited to negro labor, she has outstripped Kentucky in both white and slave population. From a population of 680,000 in 1830 she increased to 830,000 in 1840, or over twenty-two per cent, the increase in Kentucky being only some thirteen per cent; the increase of slaves in Tennessee was from 140,000 to 150,000 or near thirty per cent, while that of the slaves in Kentucky for the same period, was not eleven per cent.

These indisputable facts are worthy the most mature consideration of the people of Kentucky, in determining her future course as to negro slavery. They incontestably prove that the institution has thus far been a curse, a withering blight on her growth and prosperity and must so continue as long as the institution is kept up in the State. They prove that when negro slavery was adopted, a great error was committed and the State placed in a false position, from which every dictate of common sense indicates the duty of relieving her, as soon as practicable. They prove that by the laws of nature, it is impracticable for her ever to become a prosperous slaveholding State. Those same laws of nature unerringly point out to us her true position and most perfectly invite her to become a prosperous free State. Five sixths of the voters and two thirds of the landed proprietors of the State not being slave owners, it will be for them to determine whether the slave owning minority shall not be ruled into some modification of the system which shall ultimately relieve the State from so gross an evil.

It is not our purpose to comment upon any of the very many moral evils, to our white population, attendant on negro slavery for Kentucky parents do not require to be reminded of them. The indulgence and consequent dissipation produced by the degradation of manual labor, the bad, ungoverned passions acquired under an unavoidable tax parental discipline, are some of those evils, which have left bitter results for the remembrance of nearly every family connection in the State.

The great mistake committed in regulating this subject by the constitution, is without remedy for the past, and much of the future, yet it is not absolutely irremediable for the whole future. It is but the dictate of ordinary wisdom to retrace that false step, by applying the corrective as far as practicable, and not to overlook ben-

eficial results however remote may be their fruition. Though nothing can be done for the benefit of the present generation, that is no reason, something should not be done for the benefit of succeeding generations. Constitution framers, necessarily act as much with a view to posterity as to themselves. This is a sacred duty which every generation owes to its successors.

The people of Western Virginia, have already commenced a serious movement, with the view to obtain an amendment of the constitution of that State, which shall allow each county to decide for itself, whether slavery shall be permitted within its bounds. This, if successful, will be followed by a similar movement in East Tennessee, where there are very few slaves. This comparatively smaller number of slaves in Kentucky, the little actual need of them, together with her geographical position, render the work of emancipation much more easy with us, than either of those States. It would therefore seem, that we should lead the way, rather than wait to follow their example, on the subject of emancipation. Should the example of Kentucky influence those States, with Maryland and Missouri also, to a similar course, the result will be of incalculable national benefit. These five States now constitute the great national nurseries for the growth of slaves. If the present system is kept up in them, the slave population of the Union, in fifty years, will be over twelve millions. With the mental and physical improvement, the blacks will have attained in that time, no reflecting man can doubt the danger to the whites, from such an immense slave population; or that self preservation will compel the whites of that day, to thin off the slaves with the sword. Can we, of the present generation, with justice, entail on posterity, such a horrible necessity; one which shall give such a lasting stain to our national annals? Does not an enlarged consideration of national, as well as State policy, require that such results should be brought to view and kept in view, whilst adjudicating this subject? Does it not require from us, all that can be properly done, in avoidance of future evils of such magnitude? Close these five great nurseries for the propagation of slaves, and we shall avoid that evil. The subdivision of slaves among so many owners, withdraws the females from field labor, secures their marriage, affords the sick and infants proper care, and thus renders those States such prolific nurseries. Where slaves are held in large gangs and the females subject to field labor, they do not propagate near so fast. It is said that in Louisiana among the Creole planters, propagation is not near sufficient to keep up the number of slaves. The southern States if left to their own natural increase would not trouble their slaves in fifty years.

There is among ourselves, great diversity of opinion, as to the proper remedy for slavery, as also in regard to the time and mode of its application. The same diversity of opinion no doubt prevails throughout the State. But, from the best information we can obtain, we are well convinced, that a very gradual prospective emancipation, is all that the people of Kentucky will consent to. To obtain even that much, we are equally convinced, that the slaveholders must be perfectly satisfied, that the friends of emancipation aim at nothing more. Most of us also think, that not merely a deference to the public will, but sound policy and justice require, the proposed reformation to be so confined.

To obtain concert of action, we propose that a convention be held, some time next spring—say the first Monday in April, of delegates from the friends of emancipation in the different counties of the State. First:—to ascertain what is the true state of public sentiment, whether a fair proportion of the slave holders are willing for any mode of emancipation, and if it be found on a candid interchange of information that there is no likelihood of effecting anything, then with many frankness avow the fact, postpone the question for the present, limit our efforts to obtaining a prohibition in the constitution against the further importation of slaves, and thus save the State from the mischiefs of a profitless agitation of the subject. Second:—should the information thus obtained, warrant the hope of success, then to insure it, by proposing a plan of such moderation as will conciliate confidence in its projectors, and secure the approbation of a majority of the people.

We have much confidence in the belief that a plan can be devised, which by not materially affecting the individual rights of property, nor suddenly disturbing the relation of master and slave, not injuring the great industrial pursuits of the State, and not suddenly casting upon our society at any one time a large mass of unprepared emancipated negroes, will secure general approval and obtain the sanction of a majority of the State. Without wishing to forestall the plans of others, or supposing that other better plans cannot be devised, but, merely as an earnest of our own moderation and as an evidence of the facility with which some such plan may be found, we beg leave to suggest the following for consideration.

All females born after a named day to be free at the age of twenty-one, and all the issue of such after born females to be free at their birth. This plan will require more than fifty years for its full accomplishment, and near

sixty years before the number of adult male slaves will be materially reduced. It will therefore have little operation beneficial or otherwise, upon the present generation, or for the benefit of succeeding generations. Constitution framers, necessarily act as much with a view to posterity as to themselves. This is a sacred duty which every generation owes to its successors.

servants, that if we had two million of slaves, and every black was driven from the State, in less than ten years at least one hundred thousand free negroes would find their way among us, and meet a ready reception in despite of any legal inhibition against them. If this conjecture be true, it is unavoidable, and one which we would have to endure, even though we succeeded in sending off the whole of our blacks, by some faultless plan of African colonisation. It is, therefore, no sufficient objection to the proposed plan, that it does not provide for the driving off or carrying off the emancipated blacks.

It is easy to show an apparent great State loss, by taking the probable number of slaves fifty years hence, multiplying that by an average value, and thus producing an immense sum which will be insisted on as a total loss of as much to the State at large, though no actual loss can be shown to any particular present owner of slaves. This calculation is entirely fallacious. If at the end of the fifty years, the slaves were all to be carried from the State, and sold in a foreign market, there would be some plausibility in the idea. If the slaves are ever to be carried from the State, their market value had as well be realised in that way now as then. But as the slaves will be retained here as long as the system is kept up, and though they have a marketable value between man and man at home, they add nothing to the entire wealth of the State, except so far as the system tends to reduce the cost of the whole labor done in the State. For if the slaves when emancipated would do the same labor, for the same wages, that is for a bare subsistence, then it would matter not to the aggregate wealth of the State, whether they be slaves or free. All the capital invested in slaves, which is not necessary to making their labor as cheap as white labor, is just so much profitless capital thrown away, so far as the general wealth of the whole State is concerned.—Whether the aggregate of our whole slave system produces any saving in the cost of the whole labor of the State, even at the present rate of wages in Kentucky, is a much disputed and very disputable point. When wages shall more nearly approximate the cost of subsistence, then obviously slaves will add nothing to the aggregate wealth, for it matters not to the State whether the wages be retained in the pocket of the master citizen, or paid out to the citizen laborer. According to the calculations of many intelligent persons the wages of free labor will be so low fifty years hence; that slaves will not be worth having. Certain it is, that more than half of the laboring population of Europe, is now working for a scanty supply of bad clothing and worse food. They annually die by thousands, from starvation, because they cannot obtain work even on those terms. The natural increase of the population of the United States, will necessarily increase in value as they diminish in number. Besides all pretence of injustice to the owner is obviated by the fact, that he will, as now, be at liberty to export his slave to a southern market, where he can obtain more for her than she is worth at home. But upon what principle of justice can the slave holders, who constitute so small a minority, insist upon keeping in the State for their exclusive benefit, a species of property which is so greatly detrimental to the Kentucky market, where slaves will be sold at a price above that of a young woman on account of her barrenness. The chance of male or female issue being equal, the value of the chance of female issue alone cannot then, be more than one twentieth of her price. That, on an average price of \$300 would be only some \$15. Nor does the plan leave the owners of slaves, as a class, altogether uncompensated for even this slight loss. It will be fully compensated, without estimating the increase in the value of land resulting from an increase of white population by a permanent prohibition against the importation of slaves, thus giving owners the monopoly of the Kentucky market, where slaves will be sold at a price above that of a young woman on account of her barrenness. 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F. COSBY,
JOHN H. HEYWOOD,
NOBLE BUTLER,

EDITORS.

LOUISVILLE, DECEMBER 30, 1848.

"We send, occasionally, a number of the EXAMINER to persons who are not subscribers, in the hope, that by a perusal of it, they may be induced to subscribe."

Address to the People of Kentucky.

On our first page will be found an address to the people of Kentucky upon Emancipation, to which we ask attention. It is one indication among many that the subject is awakening much interest among our fellow-citizens.

We are glad to see that the address is signed by men of both political parties. The subject of Emancipation is one which commends itself to the earnest consideration of all citizens, without regard to their sectarian or political connections. It is a subject of transcendent, immeasurable magnitude, involving the best interests of humanity for the present and all coming time. Let it, therefore, be discussed freely, thoroughly, universally; but let it be discussed, without sectarian or partisan feelings, in the spirit of a wise and generous patriotism, and a truly Christian philanthropy.

"Moses."

Another communication from our correspondent "Moses" is published in to-day's paper. He makes no reference to the point to which we called attention, and on which we hoped he would give us his opinions. We have no comments to make upon the present communication. Its object, apparently, is to show that all who labor earnestly to remove the evils which disfigure society, and to improve the condition of their fellow-beings, are contending against Providence. We say, apparently, this is the object of the article, for we can hardly believe that "Moses" really thinks that sincere and well-intended efforts for the amelioration of mankind, should be considered as acts of treason to Almighty God, or that all the iniquities and enormities of the world are under the special patronage of Heaven.

The Peculiar Institution.

"The peculiar institution." Thus, by common consent, and almost by universal usage, is American slavery designated. Very singular is this title, but very appropriate. Slavery anywhere is a peculiar institution, but slavery in America, certainly can claim, per eminence, to be the peculiar institution.

It is peculiar in its place of existence. We're in a despotic empire, like that of Russia, it might not seem strange; but that it should exist in a republic, a republic, too, boasting of its enlightened and universal liberty, and which, not infrequently, holds itself up as the model republic, the hope of the world and refuge of the oppressed, this is passing strange, very peculiar indeed.

We hear that in Washington, our national capital, the flag of the Union is often seen waving its stars and stripes over the den of the negro trader. A very peculiar position you say, for the flag of freedom to occupy. Peculiar indeed, but it is not a very appropriate position. The American flag waving over the den of American slave-trader—is not that picture strikingly emblematic? Does not slavery, whether in denunciatory or supplicating mood, whether in fear, anger or exultation, in all its moods, always claim to be under the especial protection of that glorious flag? A stranger listening to the harangues of Mr. Calhoun and his compatriots of South Carolina, that remarkable State, remarkable, if for nothing else, at least for its fervent love of the peculiar institution, would imagine that the sole mission of the United States was the propagation and perpetuation of slavery. Are not threats continually hurled forth, that if our national flag have not the privilege of floating over slaves in the newly acquired territory, South Carolina will withdraw from the confederacy. In passing, we may say that in all probability an opportunity will soon afford for the execution of this threat, for unless all signs in the moral and political firmament prove false, American slavery will never brighten California and New Mexico with its potential breath. Then we shall see whether the disunionists are sincere or not. If they prove sincere and South Carolina separates herself from the happy sisterhood, we shall here but one request to make of her, viz: that she will divide our national flag, taking to herself the stripes, and leaving to the Union the stars.

Peculiar as American slavery is in its locality, more peculiar is it in its defenders. That men, whose property consists in slaves, should defend the institution, we might reasonably expect. That men who believe despotic government the most favorable to human welfare, should approve of slavery, is natural; and equally natural is it, that men, who regard the inspiring truths proclaimed in the New Testament—the truths of human brotherhood and equality as idle words, should look with complacency on an institution which tramples the doctrine of brotherhood in the dust, and scoffs at equality as an idle dream. All this is natural enough and consistent. But that poor men, men too poor, whatever their wishes may be, to own slaves, should defend slavery; and that men, fond of their professions of liberty, fraternity and equality, should defend it; and that believers in the New Testament, even ministers of the gospel, should defend it—this indeed is very strange.

But strange as it is, it is no more strange than true. The most violent and unscrupulous defenders of slavery are to be found in these very classes. Yes, among poor men, ultra radicals and religionists, have we found some of the most zealous worshippers of the dark-eyed Deity. The number of worshippers in those classes, it is true, is small, but what is lacking in number is more than made up in fervency of devotion. Truly, slavery is a peculiar institution.

Very peculiar, too, are the grounds upon which these individuals base their defense of the system. With the grounds on which the religious rest his defense of the peculiar institution, our readers are familiar. It is therefore unnecessary to examine them. Sufficient it is to say, that when a professed Christian or minister becomes a defender of slavery, especially if of northern birth, he becomes a most zealous one. We might say, he enters with his whole heart into its defense, if his possession of that organ were not very problematical. His arguments, too, are generally as peculiar as his zeal is fervent. Recreancy to the principles of one's native climate, and of the gospel which he professes to believe in, peculiarly fits a man for the defense of the peculiar institution.

The ultra radical, who delights in the shortest liberty, who wages deadly war against all monopoly, and demands a recognition of the rights of all men, must find some difficulty, we should imagine, in becoming a defender of slavery. Oh no, not at all. He is quite a philosopher, and determines the applicability of principles by the laws of light and color. Does he demand liberty for all men? Of course, he means for all white men, for liberty has no affinity with blackness. Besides, he thinks that a man is apt to appreciate liberty better, who holds a few of his fellow-beings in bondage, for thus he learns how great an inconvenience the loss of liberty is, and becomes very careful to preserve his own. The peculiar institution certainly requires peculiar defenses.

The poor man sometimes defends slavery; you

say. On what grounds does he rest his defense of the slave system? He says that slavery by keeping the black man in bondage, gives distinction to the white man; that where the black man is enslaved and thus degraded, the white man, by force of contrast, is elevated. In other words, that slavery, by making property of one class of men, and thereby dooming it to hopeless degradation, exalts all other classes. The poor white man is therefore thought more of in the slave than in the free States.

Does this seem a peculiar position for one to assume? It nevertheless is not infrequently taken. Let us therefore examine it.

And, first, we would say that the exaltation of one man by the degradation of another man seems to us very suspicious. We never could understand how a man becomes better by making his neighbor worse. And, secondly, it seems to us that to elevate one man by making property of another man is a very problematical mode of enabling said exalting mankind. The great evil of society, from which all social inequalities and wrongs proceed, is that the value of manhood has been lost sight of. Man has been, and is, made secondary to other things, property, and class, and rank. The great, the pressing need of society is a recognition of the sacredness of manhood. When that recognition is made, then and not till then, will the poor man have his rightful position in society.

Does slavery recognize the sacredness of manhood? Just the reverse. It makes property of man, and thus exalts property above man, and perpetuates and aggravates a thousand fold the evils by which society is cursed. Say you, it only makes property of black men? That is not so. Slavery makes property of men, denies the sacredness of manhood, worships class, property, and class, and rank.

They admire Joshua more for making the sun stand still, than for leading the Israelites to victory. It was the stand-still men who persecuted Galilee for his discoveries. They were not willing to believe that the planet on which they were placed was moving so rapidly. They would have stopped Fulton's steamboat if they could. They throw themselves before the car of science itself, and command it to stand still. When it does not obey them, they seize the spokes and are dragged along. This is the only way in which they make progress. It was the stand-still men who refused to guard them against the small-pox by vaccination.

They seemed to think the small-pox had its rights, which it was a sin to violate.

In the eyes of the stand-still people, everything established is sacred. The existence of a thing is sufficient evidence of its excellence—“Whatever is right.” They may sometimes have a faint idea that such and such a thing might be amended; but they check all such thoughts by reflecting that the thing has existed for some time. A pond of stagnant water before their doors, may breed pestilence, but they will not believe it. The pond has been there for some time, and it would be a great change to remove it. They will even find a divine warrant for its remaining. It was placed there by the Creator, and He knew best where water ought to be. Besides, it has been of great advantage to the geese and ducks. It is no worse now than it has been. It has been of great advantage, too, in forming the characters of the children. It has made them good swimmers. Three out of every four have died, it is true, and it is said, that the pond killed them, but this is imagination. It is making a charge against Providence to say so. Let those who object to the pond try their hand at making a better world. We ought to take things as they are.

Moses Heddige expressed the feelings of this class of people in his address to Lady Margaret Bellenden. “Your ladyship and the steward has been pleased to propose that my son Cuddie should work in the barn, w^t a new-fangled machine for digging the corn fr^t the chaff, thus impiously thwarting the will of Divine Providence, by raising wind for your ladyship’s ain particular use by human art, instead of soliciting it by prayer, or waiting patiently for whatever dispensation of wind, Providence we pleased to send upon the sheeling-hill.”

But these men who are so averse to motion, are obliged to move a little. They then contrive to get into it, and never leave it. They set themselves in opposition to every new method of doing things. The old man who had been accustomed to carry a stone in one end of his bag when corn was very scarce, continued to carry the stone when corn became abundant—When the idea came into the heads of his neighbors that it would be better to fill the bag with corn he reviled them, and prophesied ruin to the whole country. The high character of the people was about to be destroyed. The mills would be crowded. The horses would become paupered and would break the neck of many a rider. Widows and orphans would fill the land. Charles Lamb, in his “Dissertation upon Roast Pig,” gives a good illustration of this disposition. It seems that the excellence of roast pig was accidentally discovered by an unskilled boy’s burning up his father’s cottage. A fine litter of new-born pigs perished in the flames. As Bo-peep was standing over the ruin he had wrought, no odor which he had never smelled before assailed his nostrils. He stooped down to feel if there were any signs of life in the pig. He burned his fingers, and to cool them, stuck them in his mouth. The taste filled him with the greatest pleasure. He invited his wife, Ho-ti, to partake of the burnt pig. Curiosity at last took the piece of indignation in the old man’s bosom, and he also stuck his fingers into the pig. He was as well pleased as his son. And now whenever the sow farrowed, he would be sure to be in a blaze. The curiosity of the neighbors was excited, and they watched Ho-ti and his son. The terrible secret was discovered. Ho-ti and his son were brought to trial. Some of the burnt pig was brought into court as evidence of their guilt. As sentence was about to be pronounced, the foreman of the jury requested that some of the pig should be handed to him. The jury burned him to his greatest pleasure. 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Arrival of the Niagara.

We published last week a telegraphic summary of the highly interesting news by the steamer Niagara. We are now enabled to furnish the following additional particulars. We copy from the Baltimore Sun:

HORN, Dec. 16, 12-1 P. M.

The royal mail steamer Niagara arrived here this morning after a passage of 14 days, having sailed from Liverpool on the 1st inst., and arrived at noon yesterday to the day of her departure the London money market was very firm. Consols were at 107.50 to 107.58.

The clearing was decreasing in Great Britain. British in the Bank of England was rapidly increasing.

Numbers of American merchants were at Manchester.

The local journals are entirely devoid of matters of interest.

The Frankfort papers state that a plot has been detected—a republican rising and assassination of several members of the German Parliament.

Resolutions at Rome.

A resolution has taken place in Rome.

The Senate of Rome proceeded with the institution of the clericalists, surrounded the Quirinal Palace, demanding a new ministry and an immediate declaration of war against Austria.

The Pope, assisted by the Swiss Guards, and the diplomatic body to lead the Pope, entered the palace and remained with him. Several attempts were made to fire the building, but proved unsuccessful.

The Swiss guard then made a regular investment

and commenced a blockade against the Quirinal, overrunning the Swiss guard, Palazzo, and the Pope's secretary.

The overwhelming force compelled submission.

A council of three was then sent in, comprising the Pope, the Pope's Secretary, and the Swiss guard.

The Pope was under duress and in personal danger. He submitted to all demands, and on the 2d, the Ministry of War, headed with Marazzoli as president, was sworn into office. The Swiss guard took their places.

The power of the Pope was now a perfect nullity.

At Rome, on the 20th, perfect tranquillity had succeeded the commotion, and the Swiss guard, the new minister, had assumed the Pope's place and seated with the new order of things and peace restored.

The peace of the capital had been so soon restored.

Austria.

Napoleon again tranquil. The Emperor of Russia has sent a Windesgradle, the order of St. Andrew, and something equally flattering to Jellachich.

An immense imperial army is about invading Hungary, and the German papers say they will undoubtedly meet with a sharp reception.

De Becher and Jeudau have been executed, their participation in the Vienna revolution.

The death of Haynau is reported, commanding the Austrian troops in Italy, reported.

Prussia accepted the Anglo French Mediation, and has agreed upon Brussels as the place of conference, expressing a desire that they be immediately entered upon.

Prussia.

Berlin remains as at last advices. There is no confirmation of the King having dissolved the Hungarian Ministry.

France.

General Cavaignac has carried a vote of confidence in the National Assembly, by a vote of 503 to 25. His speech was pronounced highly satisfactory, assuaging him all blame in the Justification. His prospects for the Presidency were decided, brightening, when Louis Napoleon assumed a minister, and, in some measure

restored Republican sincerity and states his aversion to peace with all nations.

Cavaignac gave every instruction to the Assembly, which he deputizes, the intention of entering in the domestic difficulties between the Pope and his subjects.

However, his sending relief to the Pope will have influence upon the contest. It being reported that the Pope had left from Rome, Cavaignac had sent his legate, with a brigade of troops to secure the liberty of his holiness and respect for his person.

An envoy extraordinary was also sent to Rome to confer with the French Ambassador there, and a resolution.

Again, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, received to wait until the French President was chosen, in which Palmerston acquiesced on the part of England.

Meditating powers had also agreed to postpone the annual meeting during the winter.

Prussia engaged not to attack Venice.

Italy.

The immediate commencement of the dispute between the King of Naples and Sicily is stated by the correspondent of the London Times, as a thing to be shortly expected. Messini will be summoned, when the royal troops will evacuate the island.

FURTHER INTELLIGENCE.

The following items are extracted from Waller & Smith's *European Times*:

The Cholera.

"We desire to state that our report of the cholera this week is decidedly favorable; indeed, within these few days, the daily reports in the metropolis have been discontinued; the number of cases being so reduced as to render an official return unnecessary. The number of deaths descreased, thus week, from 65 to about 33 or 34 above the average of the last five years, which was but one, so that we may fairly infer that the malady is fast disappearing."

Ireland.

The amount of emigration from the dispute between the King of Naples and Sicily is stated by the correspondent of the London Times, as a thing to be shortly expected. Messini will be summoned, when the royal troops will evacuate the island.

Rome.

The following items are in the case in error of Mr. Smith O'Brien having been brought to a close, and the court having deferred its judgment. The Irish journals are now almost destitute of news.

The mal-administration of the Poor-law, the evictions which are going on throughout the country; an occasional number at some district locally; and the uninterrupted emigration of farmers at this late season of the year furnish the only themes for political discussion in the Irish papers.

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Rome.

The following is the Programme of the new Roman Ministry:

ROMA, Nov. 18, 1848.

"Called to the ministry in the midst of extraordinary circumstances, at a time when a refusal on our part would have had the effect of placing in certain peril the constitutional form of government, we have resolved to accept the trust, and to be enlightened by the principles proclaimed by the people, but also with those which, after due deliberation, have been adopted, and to make all our efforts to secure to regulate all our actions as long as we remain in power."

Among these principles, there is one which has received, by a solemn act, the assent of the Prince; and as regards another, a promise has been made that he would concur with the new ministry, that analogous propositions should be presented for the acceptance of the Italian Government.

M. Louis Napoleon made his appearance on the Place Vendome yesterday afternoon. A large crowd collected, and he was greeted by shouts.

Marshal Soult has arrived in Paris; the anti-chamber of his spacious hotel are thronged by the friends of the Cavaignac and Napoleon "dynasties," who are of course desirous to secure the continuation of the gallant old marshal. It is evident that all his sympathies are with the nephews and heirs of the Duke of Berry.

The programme of his principles, which the Prince has just issued, was supposed to have emanated from M. Thiers; but the friends and adherents of the Pope have now declared that the Prince alone is the author of it, and that he is ignorant of the contents of the document.

The Pope having accepted the resignation of Prince C. Aldobrandini, commandant of the Civic Guard of Rome, appointed, on the proposal of the Minister of the Interior, Colonel Joseph Galliano, in his stead. During the 10th, Prince Rospigliosi distributed bread wine, and cheese, to the crowd, on the Monte Cavallo.

The deputies marched in procession, with the Pope to the Pope's palace. His Holiness replied to Cardinal Soglio, that he would reflect.

The Pope, after being satisfied, send the Deputies to the Chamber of Deputies.

The convocation of a Constituent Assembly, the deliberation of the Council of the Deputies, the war of independence should be carried into effect.

That the programme of Signor Manzini, published on the 10th, should be carried into effect; and that the individuals should be appointed Ministers: Manzini, Campello, Falucci, Funeschi, Lanza, and Gallo.

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The House then adjourned.

The Mass for California.

A gentilman has just returned to New York from Panama. He writes to Charles Croppen the 18th, enclosing a sealing envelope, which contains, according to his letter, his shop law, which he is about to call together, in order to present to us if they will accord to us their confidece, and it is permitted to us to hope that we shall receive it, if their political principles come true, at the present day, what they were in times past.

Mr. G. W. MARSHALL, President.

15, Garrison Street.

P. H. BREWER,

15, Garrison Street.

The Friendly Decease.

By CHARLES MACKAY.

Thou shalt not rob me, thievish Time,
Of all my blessings, all my joy;
I have some jewels in my heart,
Which thou art powerless to destroy.

Thou may'st denude my arm of strength,
And leave my temples scant'd and bare;
Desire mine eyes of passion's light,
And scatter silver o'er my hair;

But never, while a look remains,
And breathes a woman or a child,
Shalt thou deprive me, whilst I live,
Of feelings fresh and undefined.

No, never, while the earth is fair,
And reason keeps its dial bright,
What'ev'r thy robbing, oh, Time,
Shall I be bankrupt of delight.

What'ev'r thy victories on my frame,
Thou canst not cheat me of this truth—
That though the limbs may fail and fail
The spirit can renew its youth.

So, thievish Time, I fear thee not—
Thou'rt powerless on this heart of mine;
My jewels shall belong to me,
Tis but the settings that art thine.

Picture of Blame in England in the Times of James II.

By T. E. MACAULAY.

The Country Clergy.

The clergy were regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class. And, indeed, for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. A large proportion of those divines who had no benefices, or whose benefices were too small to afford a comfortable revenue, lived in the houses of laymen. It had long been evident that this practice tended to degrade the priestly character. Laud had exerted himself to effect a change; and Charles the First had repeatedly issued positive orders that none but men of high rank should presume to keep domestic chaplains. But these injunctions had become obsolete. Indeed, during the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentlemen; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the re-establishment of monarchy and episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered an ample return for his food, his lodgings, and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentleman. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table, and an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and two pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and rainy weather for shoveboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nail'd up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots; but as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood off till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.

Perhaps, after some years of service, he was presented to a living sufficient to support him; but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantness to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service; and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favor. Indeed, the nature of the matrimonial connexions which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming, is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly, not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergymen, but that one of the less sons most earnestly inculcated on every girl of honorable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour. Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill-will to the Church, mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks which the great rebellion had produced, that some damsels of noble families had bestow'd themselves on divines. A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a person. Queen Elizabeth, as the head of the Church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergymen should presume to marry a servant girl, without the consent of her master or mistress. During several generations, accordingly, the relation between priests and maid-servants was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergymen who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook. Even so late as the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a maid's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.

In general, the divine who quitted his chaplainship for a benefice and a wife, found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage, and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dung-carts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His child-

ren were brought up like the children of the neighboring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service. Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dogeared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavorable a situation.

The Squire in the City.

"His chief serious employment was the care of his property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and on market days made bargains over a tankard with drapers and hop merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality. His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oath, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire. He troubled himself little about decorating his abode, and, if he attempted decoration, seldom produced anything but deformity.—The litter of a farm-yard gathered under the windows of his bedchamber, and the cabbages and gooseberry bushes grew close to his hall door. His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcomed to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then, was to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was placed on the board. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentleman to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table.

It was very seldom that the country gentleman caught glimpses of the great world; and what he saw of it tended rather to confuse than to enlighten his understanding. His opinions respecting religion, government, foreign countries, and former times, having been derived, not from study, from observation, or from conversation with enlightened companions, but from such traditions as were current in his own small circle, were the opinions of a child. He adhered to them, however, with the obstinacy which is generally found in ignorant men accustomed to be fed with flattery. His animosities were numerous and bitter. He hated Frenchmen and Italians, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Papists and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, Quakers and Jews. Towards London and Londoners he felt an aversion which more than once produced important political effects. His wife and daughter were, in taste and acquirements, below a housekeeper or a stillroom maid of the present day. They stitched and spun, brewed gooseberry wine, cured marigolds, and made the crust for the venison pasty."

The Squire in the City.

When the lord of Lincolnshire or Shropshire manor appeared in Fleet street, he was as easily distinguished from the resident population as a Turk or a Lasciv. His dress, his gait, his accent, the manner in which he strolled at the shops, stumbled into the gutters, ran against the porters, and stood under the water-spouts, marked him out as an excellent subject for the operations of swindlers and bantlers. Bully's jostled him into the kennel. Hackney coachmen splashed him from head to foot. Thieves explored with perfect security the huge pockets of his horseman's coat, while he stood entranced by the splendor of the Lord Mayor's show. Money droppers, sore from the cart's tail, introduced themselves to him, and appeared to him the most honest friendly gentleman that he had ever seen. Painted women, the refuse of Lewknor Lane and Whetstone Park, passed themselves on him for countesses and maid of honor. If he asked his way to St. James', his informant sent him to Mile End. If he went into a shop, he was instantly discerned to be a fit purchaser of everything that nobody else would buy, of second-hand embroidery, copper rings, and watches that would not go. If he rambled into any fashionable coffee house, he became a mark for the insolent derision of sops, and the grave waggers of templars. Enraged and mortified, he soon returned to his mansion, and there, in the homage of his tenants, and the conversation of his boon companions, found consolation for the vexations and humiliations which he had undergone. There he once more felt himself a great man; and he saw nothing above him except when at the assizes he took his seat on the bench near the judge, or when at the muster of the militia he saluted the lord lieutenant."

The Coffee House.

Foreigners remarked that the coffee house was that which especially distinguished London from all other cities; that the coffee house was the Londoner's home, and that those who wished to find a gentleman, commonly asked, not whether he lived in Fleet Street or Chancery Lane, but whether he frequented the Grecian or the Rainbow. Nobody was excluded from these places which laid down his penny at the bar. Yet every rank and profession, and every shade of religious and political opinion, had its own head quarters. There were houses near St. James' Park where sops congregated, their heads and shoulders covered with black or flaxen wigs, not less simple than those which are now worn by the chancellor, and by the Speaker of the House of Commons. The wig came from Paris; and so did the rest of the fine gentleman's ornaments, his embroidered coat, his fringed gloves, and the tassel which upheld his pantaloons. The conversation was in that dialect, which, long after it had ceased to be spoken in fashionable circles, continued, in the mouth of Lord Foppington, to excite the mirth of theaters.* The atmosphere was like that of a perfumer's shop. Tobacco, in any other form than that of richly snuffed anicut, was held in abomination. If any clown, ignorant of the usages of the house, called for a pipe, the sniffs of the whole assembly, and the short answers of the waiters soon convinced him that he had better go somewhere else. Nor, indeed, would he have had far to go. For, in gen-

*A peculiar peculiarity of this dialect was that, in a large class of words, the O was pronounced like A. This work was pronounced stark—See Vanbrugh's Relapse. Lord Sunderland was a great master of this court tune, as Roger North called it, and Titus Oates affected it in the hope of passing for a fine gentleman. Examined, 77: 254.

Richard, Count of the Contempt of the Clergy; Old Testament, 20: 1. The English clergy were a low-born crew, is remarked in the Trials of the Grand Duke Corvo.

Roger and Abigail in Fletcher's Scornful Lady, Bell and the Duke in Vanbrugh's Relapse, Smirk and Susan in Shadwell's Lascivious Witcher, are instances.

gout's Directions to Servants.

From Chamberlain, Edinburgh Journal, Great Mar.

It is universally remarked that now-a-days there are no great men—no great statesmen, authors, artists, dramatic writers, orators, theologians, or philosophers. Everywhere we see but a lifeless mediocrity—cleverness, and sometimes brilliancy of acquirements—but no great depth, scarcely any towering genius, little courage or ability to soar to commanding heights. Where is there now any great scholar; where a Shakespeare, Milton, Scott; where a John Keble; where a Newton; where anybody in the speculative? The days even of Bonaparte are gone!—A ample scope is there for usurpation; but we look in vain for a usurper! The hour is come; but where is the man?

This is exactly one of those subjects which admits of being treated pro and con. Much may be said on both sides, without any decided preponderance one way or another. In the first place it will not escape observation, that the alleged scarcity of great men is very much caused by a general advance throughout society. For one great writer in a period of literary darkness, we have now a hundred writers of ordinary, though no mean capacity, all actively exercising their pens. For one artist of inapproachable excellence, we have thousands who can at least please us with their productions. We have, to be sure, no Newton; but look at the multiplicity of minds turned to philosophic pursuits, each poring on the face of Nature, and occasionally disclosing new and interesting features. If no man towers over his fellows, it may be because all have to climb higher than the great men of former times did, in order to be conspicuous. Where discovery has been pushed to its limits, we cannot reasonably expect to have any more discoverers. There are masters of an ardent temperament as Columbus, and as willing to encounter dangers, but in what direction can these longing geniuses go in quest of a new continent? In maritime discovery, as in many other fields, the work is pretty nearly done.—America, the solar system, the principle of gravitation, the laws of chemical affinity, the balloon, the steam engine, and a thousand other things, can be discovered only once. If physical science has not got to the end of its tether, all within the circuit of the tether has been gleaned so marvelously bare, that in these latter days we are led comparatively little to pick up. Lucky follows, those Newtons, Keplers, Columbuses, and Watts.

True in one sense; but let us not be led away by a prevalent tendency to exaggerate the glories of past times, and despise the present. After making certain allowances as to the absence of such commanding intellects as that of Shakespeare—a man not for a day, "but for all time"—it may be fairly questioned if there ever was any period of the world's history so abundant in men eminent for their talents, respectable trades with the opening paper of the abandoned design, in which "Master Humphrey" described himself and his manner of life. Though I now affect to make the confession philosophically, as referring to a by-gone emotion, I am conscious that my pen wincs a little even while I write these words. But it was done, and wisely done, and "Master Humphrey's Clock," as originally constructed, became one of the lost books of the earth—which, we all know, are far more precious than any that can be read for love or money.

In reference to the tale itself, I desire to say very little here. The many friends it has won me, and the many hearts it has turned to me when they have been full of private sorrow, invest it with an interest, in my mind, which is not a public one, and the rightful place of which appears to be a more confined ground.'

I will merely observe, therefore, that, in writing the book, I had always in my fancy to surround the lonely figure of the child with grotesque and wild, though not impossible companions, and to gather about her innocent face and pure intentions, associates as strange and incongenial as the grim objects that are about her bed when her history is first foretold.

I have a mournful pride in one recollection associated with "Little Nell." While she was yet upon her wanderings, not then concluded, there appeared in a literary journal, an essay of which she was the principal theme, so earnestly, so eloquently, and tenderly appreciative of her, and of all her shadowy kith and kin, that it would have been insensibility in me, if I could have read it without an unusual glow of pleasure and encouragement. Long afterwards, and when I had come to know him well, and to see him, stout of heart, going slowly down into his grave, I knew the writer of that essay to be THOMAS HOOD."—Literary World.

True Life.

The mere lapse of years is not life. To eat and drink and sleep—to be exposed to darkness and the light—to pace around the mill of habit, and turn the wheel of health; to make reason our book-keeper and turn thought into implements of trade—this is not life. In all this, but a poor fraction of the consciousness of humanity is awakened, and the sanctities still slumber, which make it most worth while to be. Knowledge, truth, love, beauty, goodness, faith, alone give vitality to the mechanism of existence; the laugh of mirth which vibrates through the heart—the tears which freshen the dry wastes within—the music which brings childhood back—the prayer that calls the future near—the doubt which makes us meditate—the death which startles us with mystery—the hardships that force us to struggle—the anxiety that ends in trust—these are the true nourishment of our natural being.

Impulse.

Men, who are called impulsive, are much slandered. Are not the most noble, generous actions, which adorn the annals of the world, referrible to this agent? Reason is even exalted above impulse; but how fallible is reason? Is it not often opposed to faith, and does it not lead to the most dangerous errors? So far as the boundaries of our experience extend, warm impulse has prompted more good deeds than cold reason. We should sooner trust that man, in whose breast glows the fire of enthusiasm, than him who, cool and collected at all times, seldom acts without suspicion, and often deliberates till the hour of advantage has passed.—Faults, committed without reflection, are certainly more venial than premeditated sin. He who errs hastily repents sincerely; but the wrong done upon calculation is never willingly repaired. Would that society were more lenient to impulse! Even when productive of harm, it is unselfish, and the consequences to which it leads are hurtful to no one so much as to its possessor. Pay no attention to the impulsive man, and not seldom do the tears of sympathy fall from his eyes. To friendship he is faithful, and for love he would sacrifice both interest and worldly esteem. Let us be compassionate therefore, to the errors of impulse, while we respect the calm dictates of caution and prudence.

From Chamberlain, Edinburgh Journal, Great Mar.

One impediment to the rise of great men, it may be said to consist in a widely diffused taste, and habit of criticism, the occasional unjudging severity of which unfortunately the effect of retarding talent unsupported by ambition. If there be no great statesmen, the public generally labored to raise men into power in whom they can place unqualified confidence!—Perhaps the critics are more faulty than the criticised. In the United States, as we are informed, the more enlightened portion of the community, from a regard for their own feelings, take no part in politics, and studiously keep out of politics. And in our country, it is pretty obvious that on similar grounds, the "best men" systematically refuse to come forward as candidates for office. An upright man, with no selfish purpose in view, does not choose to expose himself to obloquy, or to have his services paid in public ingratitude. Thus a people may lose something by being too quick-sighted in detecting errors. A charitable consideration of human infirmities has more than Christian duty to recommend it: it is the soundest policy.

So much for the general influences which tend to repress the growth of "great men."

Every administration in the world—whether it be the executive of the State, or a corporation board, or a committee, or an individual "dressed in a little brief authority," has a greater or less store of dilatory phrases to which recourse is had for the purpose of answering urgent applications, putting off the impatient, satisfying the clamorous, and giving to all petitioners the impression of unceasing labor in their cause. At the head of these phrases for answering everything and everybody, the sentence surely deserves to be placed, "Your business is under consideration." Admirable phrase admirable for the very vagueness of its definiteness and the very definiteness of its vagueness. Laconic, too, as brief as could possibly be desired. It is eminently an administrative phrase. Unparalleled in its applicability, it adapts itself to everything—furnishes a full reply in itself, or an admirable backing to an objection or excuse—accounts for the most protracted delay in any kind of business under the sun—it is answer to every question, and the only answer to some questions. All committee rooms echo with it—all council chambers resound with it. It is a sentence, in short, which should be engraved upon the threshold of all government offices and the seats of all government officials, in order that should the latter be absent, and the former closed, the anxious applicant need not call again for the answer he will most assuredly receive.

But the more closely we examine the full bearing and import of this combination of words, the more admirable it must appear to us. An individual inquires, "How is my business going on?" and I, an official somewhere or other, reply, "It is under consideration." "Under consideration!" Observe the satisfactory ambiguity of the words. Had I said, "under my consideration," I should have reduced it at once to the value of the unit; but now, not only am I included, but everybody else who works with me: the entire body of which I am member, are clearly designated. There nothing whatever to prevent your imagining the heads of government engaged in the matter, the applicant, if a novice, of course concludes it at once to be so, and pictures to himself the whole administration engrossed by his memorial, employed upon the means of redressing his grievance, or granting his petition. What can satisfy him if he be not content with every wheel of government turning for him, and for him alone? "Under consideration." You are not left a word to say: objection you can make none. Had you been told, "It has been considered," you might naturally have asked, "What was the decision?" Or had it been said, "It will be considered," you might request, with all due humility, to be informed at what period it was thought possible it might come to your turn to engage the attention of the body to whom your business has been submitted. But it is quite another matter now. The words are, "It is under consideration;" that is to say, at this very moment every effort is being made to do you full justice, every energy is put forth, every nerve strung in your behalf; the attention of every one is riveted upon you, and you alone. What more would you have? You stand, with open mouth, completely arrested, fixed to the spot by this answer, unable to articulate more at the very instant than an "Ah!"—a wild, prolonged, it may be—and you can but bow politely and retire, as fully satisfied as your temperament or knowledge of the intrinsic value of words permits you to be.

"Under consideration." You may have heard these words repeated to you for twenty years successively; but with what show of reason can you complain of the cool, cautious, deliberate inquiry into every circumstance of your case, or of the length of time employed in the investigation of your business?—What is it you want? That it should be considered." Well, and have you not been told that this is precisely what is doing? You have absolutely nothing left to say. If not completed sooner, it is because it is impossible to proceed more rapidly in doing the thing well. Surely you would not have it slurred over. And you cannot, in conscience, require that your case should be considered oftener than always.

Most valuable phrase! What tiresome circumlocutions, what troublesome explanations, what framing of excuses, are spared by it to authorities in general! Officials may slumber as sweetly on these few words, as in an easy-chair. The phrase is the very ottoman of power, the downy pillow of bureaucracy, whence it may meet every proposal of amelioration, every expectation of improvement, every desire for a new order of things by a few words—the true talisman of state quo—"It is under consideration."

And now that it has been itself "under consideration," who will not thank me for having made this feeble effort to hold up a phrase playing so important a part in parliamentary proceedings to the enthusiastic admiration and gratitude of those who make use of it? I write not for the ingrates who are unreasonably enough to feel indignation at its being addressed to themselves.

A Marriage Vagary.

The following extract is from the "Marriage Looking-Glass," a new book in the press of J. Munro & Co., Boston.—

"Mr. Thomas Day, the well known author of 'Stanford and Merton,' and a gentleman of unbounded benevolence and the strictest honor, indulged in the wildest ideas respecting marriage. At the time of his father's death, from whom he received considerable property, he was only thirteen months old. When he arrived at years of discretion, he came to the determination of forming his character after the antique model of the most virtuous among the Greeks and Romans, scorning to adopt the prevailing fashion of wearing powder, &c. Yet surprising as it may be, the principles he adopted in early youth, became the rule from which he never swerved in after-life.

"Having paid his addresses, when very young, to a somewhat flighty lady, who rejected him, he received a strong antipathy to the then mode of female education, and formed the romantic resolve of training a young damsel to his own taste. According to the narrative, she was to be simple as a mountain girl, fearless and intrepid as the Spartan wives and Roman heroines.

"So soon as he became of age, he visited the hospital for foundling girls at Shrewsbury, and having given ample testimonies of his moral conduct, and the most satisfactory security for their future provision, he was permitted to select two little girls, with the intention of educating them after his own fashion, and marrying the one who should prove the most successful in gaining his esteem and affection. They were both beautiful; the one he called Lucretia—the bruntie, Sabrina. The more quietly to pursue his own plans, he removed to France, where, during their sickness, and

in consequence of his not having taken an English servant with him, he was frequently compelled to perform the part of nurse or a domestic to his young charge. He returned to England, and was glad enough to rid himself of Lucretia, by placing her in the care of a miliner.

"Sabrina was now to be taught the virtues of Arrion, Portia, Cornelia; to be imbued with stoic indifference to pain, and fear. "But, alas! the bud of promise broke under the trial. When melted wax was dropped upon her naked arms, she flinched and screamed.

"Yet, the wo't remains to be told. She conceived a strong dislike to study, and was utterly incapable of keeping a secret. All the private matters entrusted to her confidence, by